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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

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PART IX

"NORTH CHINA FIASCO"

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS
PART NINE: NORTH CHINA FIASCO

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Chapter 171
(14 May 1935)

South Seas Scheming

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

I went to meet the Prince on the 4th and made a report on the general situation. I told the Prince of the clear judgment and comments of the Emperor on the Emperor-Organ theory and also of my conversations with the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister. I could not help but feel deeply impressed as I spoke. My emotions were overly stirred and when I considered this matter later I felt as if I had done a very unpardonable thing. I returned after making such a report.

The Premier visited the Prince in the morning of the 5th and stopped in at the Minaguchiya where I was staying. The Premier said: "Prince SAIONJI was in very good health." The Premier also said: "I commented to the Prince: 'I don't know what will happen or at what time and I would like to have you think of the future.' Prince SAIONJI replied: 'Since you are a Navy man and your fate would be death in the event that a shell struck you, you might as well do your best until you die.'"

The Premier laughed as he said this. After we had talked of the National Policy Deliberation Council for awhile, the Premier left my lodgings and returned to Tokyo. I again went to meet the Prince about 2:00 p.m. and he said: "The Premier seemed to be in very good health and that is very favorable. I thought that he would be quite weak, but he was not as bad as I had

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expected." There was nothing of importance that day and I returned to Tokyo immediately.

I met the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau at his office and he said: "After the recent banquet of the prefectural governors, the Emperor summoned me without any request on my part, and His Majesty said: 'I read in the evening editions of the arrest of the ruffians and it is a very good thing.' I (the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau) was very deeply impressed and I further expressed a determination to carry this matter out more positively." I returned after discussing the "Emperor-Organ" theory and the maneuvers to oust ICHIKI.

I had the usual Monday dinner at the Tokyo Club with KIDO, INOUE and SAKAI and we discussed various problems. For two or three days the Premier and the Home Affairs Minister had been telling me: "There is no alternative but to appoint the Chief Cabinet Secretary as the Chairman of the Investigation Bureau of the National Policy Deliberation Council. Since BABA will not accept, we will appoint Chief Cabinet Secretary YOSHIDA as the Chairman. In view to this, a successor to the Chief Cabinet Secretary is needed. Won't you please look up a man for that position?"

Therefore, I had KIDO remain after dinner at the Tokyo Club and the two of us discussed the matter. We called the Minister of Home Affairs and had him come over and the three of us discussed the matter of a successor. The Home Affairs Minister said: "How about ODA of the House of Peers?" KIDO replied: "If we select

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a Chief Cabinet Secretary from the House of Peers it would seem as if there were some connection between the Cabinet and the House of Peers and it would be disadvantageous to the Government if the matter were considered the same as at the time of the KIYOURA Cabinet. Therefore, it would be better to give up this idea of selecting a man from the House of Peers. I believe that either KOZAKA, SHIRANE or the Commerce and Industry Ministry's YOSHINO would be the least difficult." Then we parted after deciding that the former Governor of Hyogo Prefecture, SHIRANE, would be the first choice.

The Premier had spoken to me of this matter of a successor to the Chief Cabinet Secretary when he had stopped in at my lodgings when he had visited the Prince at Okitsu. At that time, the Premier had said: "I would prefer KARASAWA, the Director of the Police Bureau." The Home Affairs Minister did not desire that the Director of the Police Bureau change his position at the present critical time so it was decided that another person be selected. I was consulted on this matter but since it would not look good for me alone to select a man, KIDO was also consulted.

In the evening of that day I went to the garden party of Prince SHIMAZU and returned late that night from the wedding reception of a friend. Just as I got back, there was a phone call from Home Affairs Minister GOTO and he said: "Persuade SHIRANE to accept."

I had KIDO, KURIYAMA, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and the President and Vice-President of the

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Yokohama Specie Bank come over on the morning of the 7th and we had breakfast together. It was my intention to hear the opinions of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau, but he was suddenly taken ill and could not come.

SHIGEMITSU said: "The Army and the Navy have gotten together recently and it seems as if they are planning something in the South China and South Seas areas, with Formosa as the center. I believe that the Minister of Overseas Affairs is involved in this scheme somehow. I am concerned because they have asserted themselves in the areas around Siam and the British colonies."

I returned to Oiso in the afternoon of that day. I rested on the 8th and met the War Minister on my return to Tokyo on the 9th. The War Minister said: "The matter of control is gradually being revived within the Army and I intend to deal with this matter in the transfer of August 12." The War Minister continued: "According to the reports of General MINAMI from Manchukuo, everything is progressing quite satisfactorily. However, some of the younger officers are saying that matters are not progressing as well as has been reported by General MINAMI. Therefore, I intend to go to Manchukuo and see for myself."

I visited the Navy Minister about 2:00 p.m. and he said: "There must be a more resolute disposition of the Emperor-Organ theory by the Government." The attitude of the Navy Minister was very similar to that of reserve officers such as NANGO, Jiro and I thought

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that they could not be relied upon. After discussing other matters, I left.

I then met the Premier and he said: "Since SHIRANE is the safest, I intend to make him the Chief Cabinet Secretary. It would be very messy later if someone holding office should be changed, and there may be some opposition. However, I believe that the choice of SHIRANE would cause the least trouble." The Premier asked me to speak with SHIRANE, so I called him over to the Kuwana about 3:30 p.m. and spoke with him. SHIRANE said: "In view of the situation and since it is unavoidable, I will accept. However, I wonder if Chief Cabinet Secretary YOSHIDA is in agreement?" I immediately called the Premier and asked him what YOSHIDA thought of the matter and the Premier replied: "Of course, YOSHIDA understands." I conveyed this to SHIRANE and he readily consented to accept.

I thought of calling Home Affairs Minister GOTO to inform him of this development, but he was not in. Therefore, I called the Premier and informed him that SHIRANE had accepted. The Premier was very happy and said that he was relieved. Thereupon I returned to Oiso in the evening of that day.

On the way to Tokyo on the morning of the 10th I met Captain TAKAGI, who was an instructor of naval administration at the Navy College, on the train. Captain TAKAGI said: "I am experiencing great difficulties in delivering lectures at the Navy College because of the unreasonableness since the revision of the regulations of the Naval General Staff Headquarters and

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the Navy Ministry. Count FANEKO has taught KATO, the former Chief of the Naval General Staff, that Articles XI and XII of the Imperial Constitution are the same and that Article XII can be interpreted in the same spirit as Article XI. These regulations of the Naval General Staff Headquarters and the Navy Ministry were decided upon by irresponsible parties and were brought to the Navy Ministry. This responsibility must be borne by the Navy Minister and this is a very outrageous thing."

I met the Justice Minister on the morning of the 10th and he said: "There will be a decision on the Teikoku Rayon Co., Ltd. about September or October. The Seiyukai seems to be thinking of utilizing the matter of the Emperor-Organ theory to overthrow the Cabinet. Furthermore, the Meironkai has threatened that this problem of the Emperor-Organ theory will bring about grave consequences. I (Justice Minister) asked them why they always came out in such a menacing manner and say that it will give rise to grave consequences. I also asked them whether they knew that administrative disposition and judicial disposition were different from their very foundations and counterattacked this matter of their dissatisfaction with the measures taken by the Government. They returned after saying that they understood matters very well."

I then told the Justice Minister that the Prince was very well satisfied with the instructions of the Justice Minister. The Justice Minister replied: "I did this because no one has done anything they should have done. It is not a very important matter." However, it

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seemed as if the Justice Minister (was of a very determined attitude.

I met the Foreign Minister later and he said:

"The French Ambassador has come over and said that he would exert his efforts so that the Franco-Russian Non-Aggression Treaty would not have any effects on the Far East. It is also said that Great Britain exerted her efforts so that it would not affect the Far East. Moreover, the attitude of the Chinese Government has steadily improved and we are in the midst of discussing the elevation of the legation (to an embassy). I believe that there will be an announcement on this within a week. Japan intends to promote Envoy ARIYOSHI to the rank of Ambassador and to have him return to Tokyo after three or four months. Because it is the desire of ARIYOSHI to resign, I believe that he will not be the Ambassador very long. I intend to notify Great Britain, France and Germany about these matters and have them agree to them."

I left the Foreign Minister and visited the Premier. The Premier said: "The members of the National Policy Deliberation Council have been generally decided upon and I intend to have a meeting about the 17th." I had visited the senior statesmen, TAKAHASHI and YAMAMOTO, earlier and they were generally satisfied. However, they considered that the refusal of President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai was a very regrettable thing. It seemed as if the general public frowned upon the attitude of the Seiyukai and it can be surmised that this gave a very unfavorable air to the political parties.

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I left on the night of the 10th and met the Prince on the morning of the 11th. I made a general report of the situation and the Prince appeared quite satisfied. The Prince said: "When you return, please tell the Premier that I am very happy over his success in establishing the National Policy Deliberation Council. It seems as if men desired by the public have been brought together, and I believe that the general atmosphere will improve. Please tell the Premier that I am very happy over the situation."

I also informed the Prince of the circumstances behind the selection of SHIRANE, the former Governor of Hyogo Prefecture, as the Chief Cabinet Secretary, and he said that it would probably be safe. Prince SAIONJI appeared quite concerned over the rumored plans of the Army and the Navy regarding South China and the South Seas area.

I also informed Prince SAIONJI of my conversation with Prince TAKAMATSU on the night of the 10th. I told Prince SAIONJI: "Prince TAKAMATSU understood matters very well and His Highness asked me: 'Just how many men are there in the Navy who really understand the problem of disarmament? Just what is Navy Minister OSUMI doing? It is very troubling to have a Minister who just increases the budget.' Prince TAKAMATSU continued: 'The Navy just demands a budget, with the ambiguous statement that it will meet the needs of national defense, and this is an outrageous thing. I think that it would be well if the Government came out and said that no more could be expended on national defense and decided what the Army and the Navy

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should have. The present conditions do not permit such a policy (as the Services had), and it cannot be realized.' Prince TAKAMATSU had concluded: 'There is a need for the Army and the Navy to return to their original objectives.'"

I reported on the two-hour conversation I had with Prince TAKAMATSU to Prince SAIONJI, and it seemed as if Prince SAIONJI was very pleased over the wisdom of His Highness. I returned to Tokyo on the 13th and conveyed the message of the Prince to the Premier. The Premier was very well satisfied.

I met KONOYE that afternoon and he said that HIRAIZUMI, a Doctor of Literature, had come to his place and said: "MATSUDAIRA, Yoshitami had rebuked KIDO, saying that KIDO was a crafty person. That sort of person should not be placed in the Imperial Household Ministry." KONOYE was quite worried over this and mentioned this incident to me. I told KONOYE that I would meet MATSUDAIRA at an early opportunity and find out about this.

Dr. HIRAIZUMI had further said: "I met Baron HIRANUMA and he said: 'The members of the Imperial Family must come to the fore and lead a movement for the rejection of the Emperor-Organ theory. The Premier had told me previously: "Baron HIRANUMA is friendly towards the Government. He is defending the Emperor-Organ theory of President ICHIKI of the Privy Council.'" In an article appearing in the Asahi, within the story of Dr. HIRAIZUMI, was something to the effect that: "It was a foregone conclusion that the Emperor-Organ theory would lead to this." I heard this story of Baron HIRANUMA and thought that it was a very unpleasant thing. I left KONOYE after discussing other problems.

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Chapter 172
(21 May 1935)

New Embassies in China

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the 15th I went to the Imperial Household Ministry and met MATSUDAIRA, Grand Master of Ceremonies. I said to MATSUDAIRA: "This is just between you and me, so I will speak straightforwardly. Yesterday KONOYE came and told me that when Dr. HIRAIZUMI visited him, HIRAIZUMI had mentioned to him: 'The other day, when I had dinner with MATSUDAIRA, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, and his family, MATSUDAIRA and his wife both said unpleasant things about Marquis KIDO's personality. I myself am of the opinion that there are few such black-hearted persons as Marquis KIDO. It is very unpleasant to have such persons hold posts in the Imperial Household Ministry. For the first time I realized that Viscount MATSUDAIRA was on very bad terms with Marquis KIDO. Hereafter, appointments of such persons (as KIDO) in the Imperial Court should be avoided.' Is this true?"

To this question, MATSUDAIRA replied: "Nonsense. I asked HIRAIZUMI: 'Why don't you meet KONOYE, OKANO, KIDO and others sometime?', only because I recognize them as worthy men. It is preposterous that my wife and I harbor any ill-feelings toward KIDO. When Dr. HIRAIZUMI was over, we made character-sketches of persons and at that time, I said: 'OKABE is comparatively simple-minded, but KIDO is no doubt a politician.' He must have misinterpreted this statement. It is outrageous for him to go around using my name and making such false statements. As a matter of fact, it was HIRAIZUMI

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himself who made adverse comments about KIDO. HIRAIZUMI expressed his personal feelings toward KIDO. This is quite embarrassing for us. I will speak to HIRAIZUMI concerning this matter."

I told MATSUDAIRA: "It would be very inconvenient if any friction arose between you and KIDO in the Household Ministry. KONOYE came to see me because he was greatly concerned about this matter. I would like you to make it clear to HIRAIZUMI that KIDO is not that type of person, and that he is not an evil-hearted person. Your relations with KIDO should be clarified also." MATSUDAIRA fully understood the matter and said as we parted: "I shall be careful hereafter."

On my way back, I dined with KIDO and spoke to him about the aforementioned matter and advised him. Then KIDO said: "Sometime ago, when I met HIRAIZUMI, he mentioned something queer, so I rejected it completely, and I guess what happened is retaliation for that."

During the same morning, about 12 or 13 members of the House of Peers visited me. We heard various talks given by the present and former Chief Cabinet Secretaries and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police. Discussion followed a remark that: "It appears in the newspapers that the Army opposes the elevation of the Japanese legation in China to the status of embassy. What about it?" Thinking it opportune, I had asked Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU to be present and we all heard the actual facts from him.

Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU stated: "There are some members in the General Staff Headquarters who are saying such things, but the War Minister has consented to the

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elevation of status. There are many in circles who say: 'If Japan elevates her legation in China to the status of embassy, they (the Chinese) will grow impudent. It will be the end of Japan's dominant position in China if she lets China take advantage of her.' The Foreign Office says that China is gradually turning pro-Japanese, as though it is true, but actually, the Foreign Office does not believe that China is getting pro-Japanese. However, it is a fact that China is repaying annually approximately 1,000,000 yen to Japan, part of a loan which Japan thought she would never repay. China's trade has increased tremendously, and it seems that her trade has returned to old times; it is the fact that she is increasing her purchases of Japanese goods, and a gradual change of atmosphere for the good in various parts of China is a phenomenon which had not obtained in the past. Now is the time to elevate the legation to an embassy. The elevation from legation to embassy was decided 10 years ago, and is not a recent matter." After listening to these talks, those present at this gathering dispersed with satisfaction.

On the morning of the 17th, I called on the Premier. The Premier stated: "The meeting of the members of the National Policy Deliberation Council to acquaint themselves with its duties be held this noon." He further stated: "Yesterday, when I was granted an audience with His Majesty, His Majesty said: 'I hear that the Army is saying something about the elevation of the legation to embassy. What is it?' Therefore, I replied: 'The War Minister did not mention anything at the Cabinet meeting, and the matter was brought to an amicable settlement.'

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"After I withdrew from the presence of His Majesty, I asked the War Minister regarding this. The War Minister stated: 'At the Cabinet meeting, I expressed my approval of the elevation proposal, but when I returned from said meeting I heard that the General Staff Headquarters raised a rumpus concerning my approval. Therefore I replied that they should have mentioned their disapproval to me before, but since the matter had already been decided at the Cabinet, it was too late to raise any objections.'"

When I met the Foreign Minister, he said: "Regarding the announcement of the elevation of the Japanese legation to embassy in China, Great Britain and the United States have also decided to make their announcements on the same day. Therefore it was decided to make the announcements tonight. The Fishery Pact between Japan and Russia, i.e. the agreement of the stabilization of the fishing area, will probably go through, but negotiation has not yet been completed. Hereafter, the Foreign Office must pay attention to the area between North China and Chahar in Mongolia. Much attention must be paid to the details of the shifting of the garrison in China."

On the 18th I went to Okitsu and reported to Prince SAIONJI on current matters. Prince SAIONJI stated: "It is unscrupulous for many leading newspapers to give false reports." Prince SAIONJI did not have much to say, and I returned.

On the morning of the 20th, I met the Premier. The Premier stated: "There is a probability that the War Minister may say something regarding the Emperor-Organ theory at tomorrow's Cabinet meeting. The problem

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concerning the President of the Nippon Seitetsu K.K.
(Japan Iron Smelting Corporation) has become the subject
of much discussion. However, there is no necessity of
making this a concrete issue immediately."

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Chapter 173
(31 May 1935)

North China Incident

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

When I met the Premier on the afternoon of the 21st, he said: "Recently the War Minister asked Count KANEKO about the history of the Constitution and, requesting the interpretations of its articles, said: 'How about deciding on which is correct?' When the War Minister spoke in that manner, Count KANEKO replied: 'This is no time for that', and did not acquiesce." The Premier continued: "I told both the War and the Navy Ministers that the Government intends to continue in the clarification of the national polity as it has endeavored to do in the past. The War Minister said to the Education Minister: 'Don't say that you will bring the matter to a close' and made the Education Minister withdraw the statement: 'That problem is deemed to be closed', which he made in a moment of unpreparedness during a trip. The conversation during the trip became quite a problem in the military group and the War Minister was troubled." In the evening papers there were articles on what the War and the Navy Ministers had said, but there was nothing much in them.

On the 22nd, I stopped at the Foreign Ministry, and Chief of the Treaty Bureau KURIYAMA said: "According to concrete facts related by an administrative official of the Government-General Office of Formosa to an administrative official of the Foreign Ministry, there were officers of the Naval Staff of the Government-General Office of Formosa who took part in the May 15th

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Incident. Seeking refuge because of a threatening storm, the Dutch ship Juneau mistakenly anchored near the Mako battery. The naval station put the ship in detention, deeming it a violation of the military protective statute. When the prosecutor of the Government-General of Formosa argued that he was going to fine the ship 2,000 yen according to the law, naval officers, together with some veterans, threatened the prosecutor. They demanded that the prosecutor deal out an extreme penalty, even to the extent of confiscating the ship. Finally the prosecutor could not avoid obeying the naval staff and he confiscated the ship. The ship's crew was imprisoned."

Reflecting back on various maneuvers, it seemed that there was some scheme behind the support of Admiral KATO when I heard the circumstances surrounding the statement: "Tell the Premier to select Admiral KATO for Governor-General of Formosa." But the Foreign Minister said to the Premier: "Please stop the selection of Admiral KATO, or even the selection of a military man, for governor-general, because of the great danger." When I spoke to the Premier about this, I said that the Navy is acting just like the Army did in Manchuria, and that there are indications that the Navy and the Army are acting concertedly in the South. Because of the somewhat numerous connections of the Minister of Overseas Affairs with the Army, there is a fear that he may lend a hand to the movement in the South. As I was considerably concerned about that point, I called on the Governor-General and asked him about the situation. Furthermore,

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I told the Premier: "I wish that you would call the Governor-General and listen to what he has to say. After that, it would be good if you cautioned the Navy Minister."

After the Premier had listened to the Governor-General, and after he had cautioned the Navy Minister, he said: "To have Admiral KATO as Formosan Governor-General at this time would be very dangerous, therefore I will not appoint him."

The Governor-General of Formosa knew quite well the concrete facts and acknowledged that his naval staff participated as a party to the May 15th Incident. He severely admonished his chief of staff and those connected with the military for the public statement issued by the chief of staff, and for such actions as that of the veterans in submitting a resolution.

I told the Governor-General: "You can handle these incidents by establishing liaison with the military district as fully as possible, and conferring with the Premier without delay. However, portions of the Army and the Navy are acting in concert from South China to the Straits Settlements, and also in the South Seas area. There are some among the intellectuals who are concerned and saying: 'Couldn't it be that the Navy is planning to do in the South what the Army did in Manchuria?' I feel that you should take due caution, because it cannot be denied that such indications exist. The Minister of Overseas Affairs is quite friendly with the Army group, and while I don't think that there will be any mistakes, it would be disturbing if he were to abet their cause. You are related to Governor-

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General KODAMA through marriage, but I think that you should use considerable caution on these points."

I received a phone call from the Foreign Ministry saying: "KURIYAMA would like to meet you immediately." When I met him, KURIYAMA said: "I came because the Foreign Minister has been quite worried since the Formosan incident, and he said: "Please stop the Premier from appointing Admiral KATO as the Governor-General of Formosa, because of the very critical situation." He further urged: "Please speak to the Premier." I immediately called on the Premier and said: "After you confirm the facts by summoning the Governor-General of Formosa, please caution the Navy Minister about the Formosan matter. I feel that it would be better if you abandon your idea of appointing Admiral KATO to that post." The Premier replied: "Because of the critical state of affairs I cannot do such a thing."

I met the Foreign Minister and told him that I had definitely spoken to the Premier about his concern. On the 24th I again met the Premier, and he said: "The Board of Inquiry has been determined by the examiner. I intend to investigate first the problem of the farmers in the general financial administration which is contained in the draft submitted for deliberation." I departed on the night of the 24th, and when I met Prince SAIONJI on the morning of the 25th, I gave him a general report.

Just before I left for Okitsu, the Premier received a written report on the history of the institution of the Constitution. Within the report there seemed to be some indignations against the Emperor-Organ

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theory. Newspaper-men persistently came to me and quizzed me about it, but I replied: "I know nothing about it" and departed. When I reached the Prince's place and phoned the Chief Secretary about the situation, he said: "Such a report was submitted to the Premier. It was also sent to the Education Minister, and to the War and Navy Ministers." I thought that this was the result of the activities of NIKAMI and others. I cautioned the Chief Secretary that the Government should not treat it as very important.

According to the Prince: "The group consisting of KANEKO and ITO, Miyoji did not truly or directly participate in the inner council for the enactment of the Constitution. It could be said that ITO's only service occurred at the time he acted as an interpreter for the German and Austrian scholars during the voyage. KANEKO, especially, was asked to investigate the English documents for information because there was no one else so well-versed in English. The three men who were truly deserving recognition for the work done were INOUE, Ki, the Frenchman BOISEANARD, and the German scholar GNEISS."

I returned to Tokyo on the same day and met the Premier, who told me that the Manchukuo legation would be changed into an embassy, and that the Education Minister was going to reorganize the Art Association. When I met the Premier again on the 25th, he told me that articles commenting on aspects of the North China Incident had just appeared in the newspapers. It seemed that the public was quite surprised at the directness of the handling of the obstruction, matters

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having been firmly handled by the Chief of Staff at Tientsin, even though they had to do with the agreement for cessation of hostilities. Some whispered that: "They are doing just what they did in Manchuria", and: "This is something like the May 15th Incident at home."

When I met the Foreign Minister, he said: "Before General MINAMI left for Hsinking, War Minister HAYASHI said to him: "I request you not to allow anything to happen in North China." When I met the Premier on the 31st, he said: "I intend to invite the Vice-Minister of War and question him on the matter of North China. Looking at the content of the first telegram, the Chief of Staff said to CHIANG Kai-shek, first: "Would CHIANG Kai-shek have Japan as an enemy or an ally?"; secondly: "Distribute your armies as they were before"; thirdly: "Abide by the agreement on the cessation of hostilities"; fourthly: "Intensify the search for the murderers of those Chinese in Tientsin"; fifthly: "If China does not do as Japan requests, we will take defensive measures." This telegram had come from Councillor WAKASUGI of Peking, but included also in what was said to the Chinese directly was: "We will include Tientsin and Peiping in the zones specified in the agreement for cessation of hostilities." In any case, it is a disturbing thing, and the Premier was going to summon the Vice-Minister of War immediately. The Premier next said: "I will submit the questions of the Deliberation Council, the plans for economic financing, and the problems of district financial administration at the next Cabinet meeting." He further said: "I expect to convene the Deliberation Council within the

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next ten days."

When I met the Foreign Minister, he said: "I think that this crisis will pass if YU Hsueh-Chung should move to Paoing-fu. In Chief of Staff SAKAI's telegram was: "Doing things successively." Thus I don't think things will go to an extreme. It seems that they are saying: "We would like to include Tientsin in the agreement," but the Staff Headquarters here and the War Ministry are maintaining: "We do not wish to make this incident bigger." Since they think that way, they will at least do something. It would not do for me to say this and that, since the incident concerns the powers of the supreme command."

When I returned home that evening, KURIYAMA came over after he had spoken to SHIGEMITSU and said: "The supreme command must do something to settle this. Can't the Emperor summon Chief of the General Staff Prince KAN-IN and talk to him more thoroughly?" However, both KIDO and I said: "The War Minister is not here, and it seems that the Chief of the General Staff is also absent. Even if he were summoned he would say that he had further places to go in order to investigate, etc. He would be unable to say anything definite."

The problem weighed on my mind, so I called up the Grand Chamberlain and asked him about the situation. The Emperor had previously shown concern and had asked the Chief Aide-de-Camp. The Chief Aide-de-Camp had immediately inquired of the General Staff Headquarters and the Army, but they said: "We have received no communications." So he is answering the Throne in a

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vague manner. The Grand Chamberlain said: "If I had said: 'It would be all right if you seek an audience', in this situation, they would say, 'It would upset the differentiation between the Imperial Household and the Government' and other such things, but since there will be inquiries by the Emperor of the Premier or the Foreign Minister, I would like to have them prepare replies with that in mind. However, it would be all right in this case if they proceeded to the Emperor and reported, saying: 'Such and such stories appeared in the newspapers, but these are the facts' even before they receive the summons. In my opinion, they should do so."

I promptly called at the Premier's home and said: "When I spoke to the Grand Chamberlain he told me that there will eventually be an inquiry from the Emperor, but that in such a case as this, it would be better if you took it upon yourself to appeal to the Emperor. Even if there were to be an inquiry, it would end with the same result as the appeal by the Chief Aide-de-Camp, in a vague response if only the Vice-Minister of War were summoned. After thorough consultation with the Foreign Minister, appeal, saying: 'In certain cases corresponding conditions arise in diplomatic relations. In this present case, there is likely to be some such result as the following.' I think that it would be well to anticipate various situations, and to mention to him the particulars of this incident. In any case, I think it best that you consult with the Foreign Minister, and that either you or he appeal to the Emperor."

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On the 1st, I went to see the Prince, and reported to him all that had happened recently. The Prince was still very much concerned about the North China Incident. He said: "ISHIHARA denounced the present Government on the problem of the Dutch ship and said: 'I am going to be the leader of a dictatorship in Japan a few months from now.' Because of this declaration to the Dutch people, they were laughing at the very lax attitude of the Japanese Government." The Prince had received this report from the consul-general. The Prince said that the Dutch are right in thinking that it is not unreasonable to laugh when matters reach such a stage.

At the time of the formation of the Cabinet, the Prince had urged: "Whether or not the Premier has anything to report after a Cabinet meeting, it is best for him to adopt a habit of seeking an audience with the Emperor." At first, the Premier put this into practice, but he gradually quit it. The Prince said: "At this time, there is the problem of the North China Incident and great confusion exists. If an audience with the Emperor had been sought after each Cabinet meeting, it would have been looked upon as a regular event, and it would preclude seeking a special audience after the occurrence of a conspicuous incident." On the 3rd, I urged the Premier most vehemently to seek an audience with the Emperor. He (Premier) said: "I will do it without fail." He said it as if he were expressing his determination, but I told him to speak to the Chief Secretary about it.

The Navy Minister phoned me: "I want to see you."

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So I told the Premier: "The Navy Minister desires to meet me. I feel that it is possibly on the question of Admiral KATO as the Governor-General of Formosa." The Premier said: "I spoke with him a few days ago, but will you tell him clearly that at this time "the Premier has no plan to change governor-generals?" When I went to the Navy Ministry and met the Navy Minister, it was still this and that about Admiral KATO as Governor-General of Formosa. I told him definitely: "But that is going to be difficult." I continued: "The Premier is determined not to replace the present Governor-General, NAKAGAWA."

The Navy Minister told me: "Fleet Admiral Prince FUSHIMI also was indignant about the North China Incident."

Because an article appeared in the June 4th issue of the Jiji Shimpō concerning the indictment of Dr. MINOBE, I met and asked the Minister of Justice about it after the Cabinet meeting, but the Minister of Justice knew nothing about it. He said: "I checked its authenticity by phone with the Grand Chamberlain." He continued: "The overall opinion of the prosecutors in the Ministry of Justice is that MINOBE's statement in an article saying: 'It is proper to criticize an Imperial Edict', violates the 26th article of the publications law. Judging from a purely theoretical viewpoint, we reached the conclusion that the paragraph on the defilement of the dignity of the Imperial Household is applicable. I was thinking of overlooking it, in the event of his resignation from the House of Peers, but the Ministry of Justice at present is unwilling to

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take such an attitude. Probably somebody active in the right wing heard about this and had it printed in the paper." He continued: "The organization known as the Kokutai Yogo Renmei (Alliance for Protection of National Polity), the vanguard of the so-called movement for rejection of the Emperor-Organ theory, met at the Tototai at Hibiya on the 19th. Through an agency corresponding to the executive office of the Seiyukai, they started the anti-democratic movement. Those who attended were General OI, YAMAMOTO, Teijiro, KIKUCHI, Takeo, and INOUE, Kiyozumi."

When I met the Premier on the 4th, he said: "At today's Cabinet meeting, the War Minister took the line of disposing of the North China Incident as quickly and lightly as possible. A draft of the treaty for the Japan-Manchukuo United Economic Conference have been agreed upon. I brought up the matter of the revival of the district financial administration which will be presented at the Deliberation Council meeting, but I intend to decide on that at the next Cabinet meeting. Thirty councillors for the Investigation Bureau have been decided upon. FUKAI, Eigo has been appointed president of the Bank of Japan and SHIMIZU Vice-President. The charges against Dr. MINOBE are groundless." The Premier had just returned from an Imperial audience when I met him, so he continued: "The Emperor said today: 'Can't something be done by the Government about this morning's article in the Jiji Shimpō?' The Emperor persistently spoke about the Government's lax censorship of newspapers."

I had heard Prince SAIONJI speak on this subject

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before. He had said: "How lax the Home Ministry's censorship of publications is. It is the duty of an official to write nothing which would prove to be an obstruction to the execution of Government policies. The fulfilment of the duties of an administrator has never been to delete everything which would prove an obstacle, nor all lies. How would it be for the Government to use its authority to urge the minor officials to make the censorship more rigid?" I had spoken to the Premier about this after the Prince cautioned me. Because the Emperor had mentioned it this morning, the Premier was quite embarrassed.

Seiorji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 174
(24 June 1935)

Tani Demands Action

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On June 5th, I met with the Premier and told him that a short while ago I had heard from Count ARIMA that: "Recently former Premier SAITO has been besought to run for President or Chairman by various organizations; therefore, he has become very short-tempered. According to his wife: 'I have a difficult time at home because he loses his temper as he has never done before.'"

ARIMA requested: "Please have the Premier bear in mind that henceforth it is to be hoped that he (former Premier SAITO) will not be besought by various organizations to run for Chairman."

But, in reality, as in the case of the Chairmanship of the Federation for Free Elections, I (HARADA) am of the opinion that after serving once as Premier, Viscount SAITO himself was strongly convinced that this should be asked of him, therefore he was not unduly influenced. Again, having served once as Premier, and due to experiences gained thereby, his feelings as to aiding the Government, I am inclined to think, have been greatly stimulated.

I also met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. We discussed various angles of government supervision and censorship. He seemed quite concerned over the Dr. MINOBE issue but finally added that maybe it was not too serious. I stopped by at the Foreign Ministry on my way home and found that the Netherlands-Japan Arbitration Treaty passed the Privy Council today.

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On the 7th, I met the President of the Bank of Japan and congratulated him upon being newly elected as President. Then I inquired as to the cause for the sudden drastic fall in stocks and to this President FUKAI said: "The reason for the fall was the overabundance of industrial stocks. Just when this reaction occurred, various incidents happened one after the other. The North China Incident broke out; on the European Continent, France had a change of government; and in the United States, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court reached a decision that the President (ROOSEVELT) had violated the Constitution. Due to the foregoing, the stocks fell headlong. Nevertheless, the actual condition of commerce is quite sound. It is also rumored that the money market is facing a deadlock, but the truth is that things are not bad. Therefore, everything is progressing smoothly; funds are ample and the dilatory keynote has not been altered. From the standpoint of today's economic structure, the fact that personal bills are coming out in large quantities is proof that everything is progressing normally."

Then I met the Premier and questioned him on the North China issue and he said: "The Vice-Minister of War came over and stated: 'Yesterday, a telegraphic instruction was sent off to the Tientsin Army by the General Staff Headquarters to the following effect: 'First, transfer the Special Higher Military Police from North China to another place. Secondly, transfer the Blue Jacket Corps and the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) elsewhere, and make YU Hsuen-chung resign. Although the time-limit is set, it is not a final ultimatum.

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Moreover, end all anti-Japanese action. The foregoing could be demanded of various parts of the country, but we cannot say anything beyond these limits."

"To begin with, since the contents of the instruction are of such a nature, nothing serious may come of it," the Premier added.

"As for the Russo-Japanese Fishery Agreement, I intend to have it revised," said the Premier. He further stated: "The Navy Minister came over and requested that: 'Admiral KATO be definitely appointed Governor-General of Formosa.' To this, I (Premier) replied: 'I cannot very well make NAGAWA resign suddenly.' And, with this, refused the suggestion in a plausible manner."

The Premier further warned: "At the time when the shift of the Tientsin Army takes place, there will be about 4,000 involved, therefore the utmost precaution must be taken at that time." According to the Premier: "When I called in the Vice-Minister of War a few days ago, I severely reprimanded him saying: 'What is this all about? You are causing great anxiety to His Majesty. You have been ordinarily saying: 'The Imperial Army,' or 'His Majesty's Army'; moreover, recently you have been repeatedly saying: 'Clarification of National Polity', and then, on the other hand, you cause great anxiety to His Majesty to no purpose!' As a result the Vice-Minister was quite worried."

On the 8th, I went to Okitsu and made a general report to the Prince of the situation up to the present day, and he remarked: "It seems to me that the actions of the Army are very unreasonable. To observe matters silently for an indefinite length of time

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might, moreover, result in disloyalty and that would be serious." Saying this, the Prince appeared to be quite concerned over the state of affairs.

On the 10th, I returned to Tokyo and met with the Premier and told him: "The Prince seemed quite concerned over the North China issue." To this the Premier replied: "I am of the opinion that the present Incident will be settled locally. Moreover, the General Staff Headquarters has sent an order in the name of the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, to the following effect: 'In case of an emergency, under no circumstances must action be taken without orders from the General Staff Headquarters.' Therefore I (Premier) am of the opinion that everything is secure."

Then, I went to the Tokyo Club; Count KANEKO's son was there. He remarked: "The reason why I wanted to meet you is that I am very much troubled over the fact that various army personnel are attempting to invoke the aid of my father. For instance, the Vice-Chief of the General Staff and the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff came over together and were saying: 'We would like to have the origin of the enactment of the Constitution and its formal translation determined.' To tell you the truth, ARIGA of Mitsui, and others, have advised father saying: 'It is wiser for you not to make any assertions and to mind your own business on this occasion.' We have also been saying the same thing to him (father) all along, but he does not listen to us. Won't you please take it upon yourself to convince him?"

On the 11th I saw the Foreign Minister and he stated: "The German Ambassador made inquiries as to

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whether 'Japan had any opinions in regard to the Anglo-German Naval Agreement Conference.' Of course, it is very unfavorable for Japan to have Germany and Great Britain recognize each other's naval ratio. But as the reason for this is the fact that Germany did not participate in the Naval Disarmament Conference, it would be unwise to oppose it. I (Foreign Minister) intend to express Japan's attitude clearly, and at the same time to assume a disinterested attitude."

Moreover, I met the Premier and he said: "The North China issue will be settled with all demands acceded to. As in many cases, when I (Premier) inquired into the matter, I found out that just before general UMEZU entrained for Hsinking, Chief of Staff SAKAI said to him (UMEZU): 'I would like very much to issue an exceedingly light, friendly warning during your absence. What do you think?' To this, Commander UMEZU replied: 'If that is the case, it will be all right.' From the foregoing, such a serious thing resulted."

Then I discussed the various problems of the Navy with the Premier. In the course of the conversation, he repeatedly said: "In short, if there is among the officers anyone who is somewhat powerful, in order to ingratiate themselves with him, the die-hards of the Navy will say all kinds of things. However, if Admiral KATO, for example, is placed on the reserve, the die-hards will gradually diminish in number."

On the 13th, I met the Premier and he stated: "I expect to hold the first consultation of the Deliberation Council today." He continued: "I have been thinking over the situation and have come to the con-

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clusion that it would be better if Prince SAIONJI and the higher officials near His Majesty do not give me all kinds of advice in connection with the present North China issue. So long as the superiors: the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, the Army and Navy Ministers, and myself, all have identical opinions and still cannot accomplish anything with our combined efforts, it is bound to be a hopeless situation, no matter what anyone says. First of all, we shall try to do as much as we can, therefore please request the Prince to wait and see what will happen this time. As for the agreement to cease hostilities, North China will not get on the track of diplomacy as long as China does not recognize Manchukuo, and as a result, matters have to be carried out in this manner."

On the foregoing, I had some doubts as to whether the Premier's way of thinking was correct. So I discussed this with the Chief of the Treaty Bureau. It can be said at the present time that the North China Incident has attained a temporary respite. In short, the recent issue was incited by the military personnel garrisoned in China, who were all anxious to do something. They were, so to speak, a radical group who were brought up in China. Another thing which might have been the cause was the strong resentment felt toward Ambassador ARIYOSHI. However, in my opinion, Ambassador ARIYOSHI is a person suitable for his post; the fundamental reason why he is disliked by the Army is that the Army is opposed to the so-called peace negotiations of HIROTA, the Foreign Minister.

Before I parted with the Premier, he added, laugh-

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ing: "As for the Art Society of the Ministry of Education, it is like a plaything of the Education Minister. ICHIKI President of the Privy Council has greatly improved in health recently." He (Premier) also mentioned the fact that the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, was very apprehensive over the situation.

On the morning of the 14th, I had KASHIWAGI of the Shokin Bank come over to my home, and, together with the members of the House of Peers, listened to the story of his travels through Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor, India, Malaya, Java and Burma; looking over the market for Japanese goods.

According to KASHIWAGI: "Japanese goods are exactly suited to the pocketbooks of the people. For example, (Japanese) bicycles can be cheaply purchased by the natives of Africa and Egypt. I am of the opinion that it is a blessing to these races who have worn hardly any clothing up to today, but are now able to wear shoes and clothing, due to cheap Japanese goods. Japanese goods are welcomed and enjoyed everywhere. If it were not for political impediments to economic advance today, Japanese goods would be increasingly demanded from all directions.

KASHIWAGI repeatedly stated: "The North China issue, and rumors of the Navy's intended invasion of the South Seas, for example, are great obstacles to the expansion of commerce."

On the 15th, I went to the Prince's residence and reported to him what had occurred up to now. I also informed him that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal would call on him on the morning of the 18th. As the North

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China Incident came to a lull on the 15th, the Prince appeared slightly relieved. On my way home (to Tokyo) on the 16th, it happened that TANI was returning from Manchukuo, so we rode on the same train from Shizuoka.

When a wire arrived to the effect that TANI was returning (to Japan) due to the request of General MINAMI, SHIGEMITSU of the Foreign Office called me by phone and informed me of this. I was of the opinion that TANI was coming back to endorse what YADA had spoken about when he returned at the request of General MINAMI. In short, as YADA had mentioned the fact that General MINAMI's influence in Manchukuo was somewhat ineffective and, moreover, that he (MINAMI) wanted some aid from the War Ministry and the General Staff Headquarters - in other words that he (YADA) was sent over to request aid - SHIGEMITSU awaited TANI's arrival with the same expectation.

According to TANI's story on the train: "I have not yet spoken to the Minister about this, but it is very inconvenient to have a Foreign Ministry like that of today. Therefore, as in the case of the Army group, if incidents such as the present one break out without any coordination between the Central Government (War Ministry and General Staff Headquarters) and the garrison forces overseas, it will be ultimately branded as an Army conspiracy. There is a general intention among the garrison forces overseas to overpower CHIANG Kai-shek. That is, to make CHIANG Kai-shek recognize, first of all, the independence of Manchukuo. Ambassador ABIYOSHI, for example, tries to avoid the Manchukuo problem as much as possible, and seems to be using all

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his efforts toward conciliating China. In the first place, the freeing of Manchukuo was an epochal undertaking, carried out by (Japan's) resignation from the League of Nations. In short, a splendid Imperial Edict has been issued, and there is an indivisible, solid relationship between the two countries. But, in spite of this, ARIYOSHI does not stop over in that country. During his stay in China, whenever YADA or I went over to see him, he concealed us from view and his remarks: 'Keep out of sight' and 'Do not come' have caused Army circles to harbour ill-feelings. At any rate, it is quite impossible for an Ambassador who shows no signs of endeavour toward having the independence of Manchukuo recognized, to get along with the Army. Since it is impossible not to recognize the power of the Army, it is up to the Foreign Ministry to go in advance of this power and give it proper guidance. If China could be made to recognize Manchukuo, then it would not be necessary to establish a new political power in North China at the present time. Furthermore, today, CHIANG Kai-shek is like a candle flickering in the wind, and in a state where a slight push will make him collapse, therefore it should not be too difficult to get him to acknowledge the independence of Manchukuo.

"The military personnel - especially those overseas - are said to be anticipating Sino-Japanese amity. Anyway, since CHIANG Kai-shek is in a precarious situation, and like a drowning man catching at a straw, it appears as though he is relying on Japan due to sheer necessity. CHIANG Kai-shek will

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easily collapse if given one push from the North. Therefore CHIANG Kai-shek is resorting to Japan; due to urgent exigency and not of his own accord he has turned pro-Japanese.

"The foregoing is what the military personnel are repeatedly saying. And it is quite true. At all events, I (TANI) do not mind serving under ARIYOSHI as councillor, but unless they change the modus operandi toward China, there is no way of suppressing the military.

"I (TANI) have returned this time to discuss the foregoing. I understand that General MINAMI, the Kwantung Army, and the Army Minister, are all of the same opinion, nevertheless I have brought over a memorandum. I am showing this to HIROTA, the Foreign Minister, and will have him study it thoroughly and then have a joint unified policy with the Army and Navy. Otherwise, the situation will be too dangerous." This was TANI's main concern.

To this, I replied: "Well, ARIYOSHI may be wrong in many ways, but as an Ambassador who possesses a letter of credence from His Majesty to a neighboring country, (China) and who is clasping hands with CHIANG Kai-shek, the nucleus of present-day China, he (ARIYOSHI) cannot very well slap the face of CHIANG Kai-shek, whose hand he is holding, regardless of the legitimate reasons the Army personnel may have. It would be wise for them to think twice whether it is right or wrong for a soldier, loyal to His Majesty, to take such an action. You (TANI) may say: 'He is Manchukuo's enemy;' or: 'An Imperial Rescript has

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been issued.' True, there are arguments that could be used on the relationship between Japan and Manchukuo, but one must think twice whether or not they could be used sensibly against China. For example, if Hokkaido were taken away from Japan by Russia; and then the Japanese were told: 'Immediately recognize Hokkaido as Russia's', they (Japanese) too, will not be able to do anything so foolish." With this, I parted with TANI in Tokyo after our arrival there.

On the 17th, I met the Premier and he stated: "At the Deliberation Council of the 17th, the Army Minister made a very sensible reply to the question: 'Will the budget for the national defense appropriation be increased or decreased henceforth?' For example, the War Minister stated in his reply: 'The manufacture of weapons must be increased more and more, therefore the expenditure will mount, but as public peace is restored, the manufacture of weapons will positively decrease. As for the national defense funds for Manchukuo, in all probability more than the existing appropriation will be necessary.'"

Then I remarked: "When I spoke to TANI, he laughingly said that HAYASHI, the War Minister, took a trip to Manchukuo in order that he might request more funds for the defense of Manchukuo." The Premier also laughed at this.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 17th, the establishment of the Advisory Council for Industrial School Education, and the Japan-Manchukuo Economy Coordination Council was decided upon and was referred to the Privy Council for deliberation.

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On the 18th, I met the Premier and he said: "From what I have heard, General MIHAMI has finally united with Chief of Staff NISHIO; ITAGAKI, therefore, is weakened considerably. Moreover, upon the War Minister's return (from Manchukuo), he wired: 'Carry on so that nothing will seem unjustifiable in the eyes of the Powers looking on.' The foregoing was further arranged into an order and sent out."

I met the Chief of the Metropolitan Police on my way home, and he was still troubled by the MINOBE issue.

On the 19th, I met the Premier and he said: "I talked with Councillor TANI at length." Then the Premier went on and told me the gist of TANI's conversation and the gist of it was: "The Manchukuo Administrative Office is handling Manchukuo as a colony, which is very embarrassing. It is my (TANI's) desire to have it treated as a respectable foreign power."

Later, when the Premier was received in audience by His Majesty, the Emperor, he (Premier) spoke of the Imperial Fine Arts exhibition. Moreover the Premier reported that: "The Cabinet Deliberation Council, in short, was half-way between a Cabinet meeting and a Diet meeting." To this, His Majesty was pleased to ask: "What does that mean?" He (Premier) replied: "The Cabinet meeting always bears reference to the budget; therefore all the Ministers are afraid to speak up, but, at the Deliberation Council, they mutually discuss issues without reserve and the meeting is conducted very smoothly." He (Premier) also reported (to His Majesty) that: "The North China Inci-

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dent had come to a lull."

On the 20th, I went to report to the Prince and he said: "On the 18th MAKINO came and he seemed in pretty good health. MAKINO remarked: 'When we enter the rainy season, my rheumatism begins to bother me, therefore I have to resort to injections.' So saying, he (MAKINO) indicated that his health was failing him, therefore I replied: 'In spite of the danger of death, we must perform our individual tasks due to the trend of the times. If it means only an individual loss, it does not matter, but as it involves the nation, we shall have to do our utmost.'"

Then, I reported to the Prince after discussing other subjects: "The Premier stated: 'At this time, instead of relying on Prince SAIONJI and other high officials close to His Majesty, I (Premier) think it would be wiser for me to assume the responsibility and handle the situation by myself.' To this, the Prince replied: 'No matter how loudly we call out at present, it would be to no avail, and furthermore, if the Premier is of that opinion, there is nothing I can do but quietly observe his actions.'"

I spoke at length on the Professor MINOBE issue and added: "It seems that there is talk in the Public Procurator's Office to deal with him (MINOBE) on the ground of the Publication laws. But the Prince answered: 'Should MINOBE be punished, I am of the opinion that this matter will be carried just as far as they have planned. In short, if one wall is knocked down, they will want to do the same with the next, and in the end it might involve even MAKINO and ICHIKI. In other

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words, it is better not to touch upon the matter. Premier OKADA is working tenaciously and firmly, therefore I do not think he will weaken," the Prince added.

When I returned (to Tokyo) on the 21st, I spoke at length with the Premier but he remarked: "As for Dr. MINOBE's case, it would be perfect if he would voluntarily resign from his official position, but if he does not, the Public Procurator's Office has decided that 'it will institute legal proceedings against him (MINOBE); therefore, it will be very troublesome. Nothing of importance was brought up at the Cabinet meeting," added the Premier. He said further: "At the recent audience of His Majesty with the Premier, the Emperor warned: 'I hear that the Government is now promoting and encouraging the study of Japanese history; however, it would be undesirable should this promoting (of Japanese history) become, in reality, the encouragement of ultra-nationalistic actions and movements.' This warning of His Majesty was conveyed to the Cabinet members at a Cabinet meeting. In the Japanese history textbook which is being compiled by Dr. HIRAIZUMI for the Military Academy, many bloody stories of the Taika Reform, for example, the death scene of SOGA, Iruka, are recounted. I do not know what prompted His Majesty to make the above request, but as I (Premier) felt grateful for His Majesty's kind warning, I carefully advised everyone of it.

"The Foreign Minister reported on the European situation at the Cabinet meeting. At the next Cabinet meeting, which will be held on the 25th, the Minister of Finance is planning to speak on the plans for a new budget."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 178
(2 July 1935)

Itagaki in the Saddle

Translated by Lt. Hakuzo Nitta

On the 22nd, I heard that SAKATANI was suddenly returning to Manchukuo the next morning. I had spoken to him from time to time in a crowd; I had desired to speak with him at length, but in the meanwhile no opportunities had arisen. Therefore I called at his Sendagaya home on the evening of the 22nd, and conversed at leisure and lengthily with him.

SAKATANI always had been a man who knew whereof he spoke, and also a person of strong determination. He had debated fairly unabashedly with ITAGAKI and ISHIHARA, and he was a man who could co-operate. SAKATANI said: "This is very confidential but two or three days ago I went to Sendai and talked with ISHIHARA on various matters. He still says: 'Japan can do nothing but consolidate Manchukuo. If Manchukuo is managed creditably, North China will follow suit. It is possible to have it naturally influenced by virtuous example, just as the 'fair faces' will get their praises though the owners keep silent.' Therefore, it is a very stupid plan to carry on small projects in North China and stick our finger in the Mongolian pot. I would not do that. In general, the Japanese race is moderate by nature, therefore it is not possible to act with extremist motives, whether left or right.' Thus he told me of his deep-rooted convictions."

I (HARADA) asked him: "Just what sort of ideas do the radical factions such as the staff officers of the occupation forces in Tientsin and the Kwantung Army group

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have?" He answered: "I spoke with ITAGAKI and his staff officers often like this: 'Just wielding its sword and using coercion reflect on the prestige of the Imperial Army. It will eventually accomplish nothing by indiscriminately brandishing tyranny. It will, rather, lower its prestige.' The Army men, in general, have the idea: 'What is going to be done for the solution of Japan's population problem? Looking at the political situation at home, there is practically nothing adequate in what the politicians propose. If we leave the destiny of Japan in their hands, we will never know what is going to happen. Heretofore, Japan has somehow confronted the population issue, but the solution is still to raise the production of Japan and to seek an outlet for the population of Japan. Today we have Manchukuo in our hands, but the natural resources of Manchukuo are no match for the natural resources of North China. There exist in Shansi Province inexhaustible supplies of iron ore and coal. If we dilly-dally, they will fall into the hands of either Britain or America. If we keep saying this and that about so-called international ethics, and if we yield the road to others by saying: "after you, after you", the one who will be left holding the bag will be Japan. Therefore, while Europe and America are preoccupied with situations in their own countries, and while their circumstances are such that they cannot interfere with the Orient, it is of vast importance and a very good opportunity to get North China into the hands of Japan.' This is their idea. The Army's idea seems to be to make some opportunity to act by some unskillful military action.

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"I (SAKATANI) have persistently told the Army group: 'It is outrageous for the Army to distinguish itself at the point of the sword', but they do not listen. However, in general, even if we check the force behind the northward expansion of influence, it is something which will not possibly cease. If we attempt to prevent this force unskillfully, I feel that it may cause some dangerous crisis in domestic administration. Colonel ISHIHARA is very much concerned, and out of his feeling that he would not want his good friend, Vice-Chief of Staff ITAGAKI, to fail, he urged me: 'Please act so that ITAGAKI will not fail'. In any event, North China is an important problem which we cannot be too careful about." The reason SAKATANI had to depart early the next morning for Manchukuo was this problem. Even HOSHINO, who had gone for the Finance Ministry, echoed the same ideas, although his methods were different. SAKATANI said: "I must do something to stop them from making fools of themselves when I return."

I departed after he said: "I will be repeating myself, but please remember that it would be utterly impossible to suppress by extreme means the forces attempting to expand northward."

On the 24th, I received a phone call from Prince HIGASHIKUNI who had just arrived in Tokyo, saying: "Since I would like to converse with you about various matters, let's lunch together...." With my usual Monday luncheon companions, and with TANI who had just returned from Manchukuo in tow, we had luncheon together at the SUMITOMO villa. We talked of various matters, and listened to TANI's opinion concerning the Manchukuo

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problem. Prince HIGASHI-KUNI departed very pleased.

When I met the Foreign Minister on the morning of the 25th, he said: "It was said that Ambassador ARIYOSHI, acting in concert with the Commander of the Tientsin army, intended to issue a statement as soon as the Chahar problem is straightened out. The statement, in its essence, was to say: 'Respect the Manchukuo Government, and at the same time, in order to accelerate Japanese-Chinese friendship, endeavor to destroy any movements which would be an obstacle to it.'"

Ambassador ARIYOSHI received the following communication from the Chinese, asking about the things mentioned below: 'We cannot ascertain just what Japan can gain in China. Has the existence of China in the past been disadvantageous to Japan?' and: 'We would like to confer with you in the future as to just what China should do about such problems as Communism, etc.' I received a telegram telling me the above."

When I called on the Premier on the same day, he said: "The Finance Minister just explained the budget policy at the Cabinet meeting, and I don't think that the budget will have to be increased much after this year. Since we will have an increase in revenue we will use that to reduce our debt. Even if we increase the budget for the Army, I don't think that it will amount to much. The limit of the natural increase of revenue would be about seventy or eighty million yen; the Finance Minister intends to use all of this to decrease the debt. However, I would use 30 or 40 million yen for the gradual decrease of our liabilities, and I think that we must divide the remainder between

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the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Army. The War Minister says: 'I don't think it will increase beyond this year's expenditures, but it may increase somewhat.' But the Navy Minister's facial expression seemed to show his worry."

When I again met the Foreign Minister on the 27th, he said: "Yesterday the Privy Council held a round-table conference on foreign affairs. There were explanations by the War Minister and interrogations concerning them. Among the advisors, someone asked: 'Just what does the Army intend to do in North China?' The War Minister vehemently replied: 'We do not intend to interfere in domestic affairs.' He also said: 'Beyond this we have no special plans.' Other advisors said: 'Because disagreement in opinion between the Army and the Foreign Ministry is dangerous to the domestic scene, we must unify it at all costs.' ~~I~~ I said that the opinions of the Army and ourselves are basically in agreement, but that if we want China to draw closer to us, there is no other way than for us to concentrate on CHIANG Kai-shek.

According to KURIYAMA's story, the advisors at the meeting of the Privy Council, especially the advisor who had once been governor-general of Formosa, asked: "Does the Manchurian Railway belong to Manchukuo?" When this very foolish question was asked, even KURIYAMA said: "I'm surprised" and expressed his indignation.

When I met the Premier he told me that the Foreign Minister was to explain the international situation to his colleagues at the Cabinet meeting on the 28th. Extras had been published announcing martial law for

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Peiping, and because of the general clamor over what seemed to him a grave incident, the Foreign Minister asked the Premier about the situation. The Premier said: "Because negotiations on this North China Incident had been entered into and concluded, I don't think there is much to this. Today the Commander at Tientsin and the Ambassador at Shanghai are going to issue the statement I told you about a few days ago." He continued: "It seems that political racketeers have appeared who, covetous of SUNG Che-yuan's sphere of influence in Peiping, are trying to take it over. The War Minister has said: 'Naturally, I don't think that the Japanese Army is connected with this problem. However, in order to get the Japanese as an ally, they may send some guerrilla forces to the other side to fight our forces. Thus the Japanese army will inevitably take defensive measures against them and we will be drawn into the maelstrom of war. Because there are numerous possibilities of our ending up by being allied with one side, I am very much concerned about how to prevent this from happening.' The War Minister was telling us this at the Cabinet meeting."

The Premier continued: "On the same day we held the Deliberation Council meeting, and it was decided to deliberate on the boundaries, methods and urgency of the first topic on the agenda. We obtained IKEDA and KAGAMI for the special committee. At the Deliberation Council meeting, the Finance Minister spoke on the general policy for organizing the budget, the War Minister spoke on his observations in Manchukuo, and the Foreign Minister elaborated on the general policy

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toward China and also toward Russia. So the Council members were very attentive in listening to what was being said."

When I met the Premier on July 1st, he said:

"Representatives from the Seiyukai came and questioned me on my opinion of the so-called Emperor-Organ theory.

YAMAMOTO, Teijiro, who was the principal speaker, said:

'Make an announcement that the Emperor-Organ theory is opposed to the underlying principle of national polity.'

However, I did not say either: 'I would' or 'I wouldn't.'

They asked: 'Do you harbor any idea of making KANEMORI and ICHIKI quit?' to which I answered: 'I have no such

idea.' Because I would not acquiesce to anything that

was requested, they said: 'Hereafter, you must be

determined to shoulder the important responsibilities

of the Government' and departed."

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Chapter 176
(11 July 1935)

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Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the 2nd, when I met the Premier, he said: "At the Cabinet meeting, the Home Minister reported on the flood damages. The Foreign Minister spoke about sending Ambassador DEBUCHI to Australia as a good-will envoy. I gave an account of the interview held with representatives of the Seiyukai." The Premier further stated: "The petroleum problem has been settled by law, but we hope to consult with the party concerned, according to changes in conditions." He also stated: "The Special Committee meeting of the National Policy Deliberation Council should first study economic conditions in the prefectures, and then deliberate upon the matter of public finance."

On the 3rd, I went to Okitsu and reported to Prince SAIONJI on various matters. When the subject of enforcing purity in electioneering was brought up, Prince SAIONJI remarked: "The enforcement of purity in electioneering is an excellent idea. However, we are dealing with people, therefore, although we cannot recognize bribery, without bribery, it is doubtful whether the election will result successfully. It would be a queer thing and quite embarrassing if the Government supporters should become the minority party. I presume that Premier OKADA is aware of these points. If the Home Minister does not take care that practice and principle more or less coincide, the situation will be rather embarrassing."

Prince SAIONJI further stated: "Regarding diplo-

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matic relations between China and Japan, it is said frequently in the newspapers recently that: 'The soldiers are furious'; 'The Army authorities are....'; 'The resentment of military attaches'; etc. I can understand if the people resent this, but I see no reason for military personnel to resent it. Is it proper for these people with official responsibilities to resent it? This is a very queer matter."

Regarding the problem of the Emperor-Organ theory, Prince SAIONJI said, as he had before: "I will keep my hands off this problem completely." Prince SAIONJI then said: "On July 7th, I am going to Gotemba." I departed, after promising Prince SAIONJI that I would meet him on the evening of the 6th.

On the 5th, when I met the Premier, he said: "The Home Minister made further reports on the flood damages, and the Foreign Minister stated: 'Following our suggestion, China's lese-majeste affair will probably be settled.' This statement was followed by Chief of the Investigation Bureau YOSHIDA's report on the progress of the Tohoku Shinko-Kai. Please keep the following matter absolutely secret. Today, MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry said: 'I thought that the National Policy Deliberation Council of the Cabinet deals with the foundation of national policy, and it is awkward to bear criticisms that the Deliberation Council considers only prefectural matters. For example, TANOMOKI came to me (MACHIDA) intimating his intention to resign his post.'

"Chief YOSHIDA stated: 'We must first consider all prefectural matters and then start considering problems

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of the Central Government.¹ It is very perplexing."

The Premier remarked: "There seems to be no prospect of Dr. MINOBE resigning his official position. Therefore legal action will have to be taken against him.

However, the Minister of Justice is waiting for the arrival of a suitable time to indict him. After the Cabinet meeting, the War Minister came and stated:

"There are some within the War Ministry who are demanding that the Government issue statements clarifying its stand in regard to the Emperor-Organ theory. I consider it undesirable for the Army to take action which reflects the opinions of persons (ultra-nationalists) who demand that if the Government isn't going to make any statement in regard to this matter, the Army itself issue a statement clarifying the issue. I am trying to check this action on the part of the Army."²

Apparently the story concerning TANOMOKI was related by MACHIDA, Minister of Commerce and Industry, because in the first place, MACHIDA, as president of the Minseito, was practically under the control of TANOMOKI. At the recent meeting of the National Policy Deliberation Council, KAWASAKI, Takukichi, instead of TANOMOKI, was appointed as special committeeman. Therefore TANOMOKI was greatly put out. Furthermore, at the meeting of the National Policy Deliberation Council held recently, the question of a Russo-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact was brought up. This matter had been kept in absolute secrecy, but somehow it had leaked out to the outside. It was generally rumored that TANOMOKI had permitted this information to leak out, and MACHIDA was severely reprimanded by IWAKURA of the House of Peers.

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IWAKURA had reproached MACHIDA: "TOMITA, TANOMOGI and other Minseito members are always basing their talks on the information obtained at the meetings of the Deliberation Council of the Cabinet. It is annoying for the Deliberation Council to be taken as a medium for the expansion of the influence of the Minseito." Various complaints had been brought up, and finally complaints were made to MACHIDA. Probably this is the reason why MACHIDA made his complaints to the Premier. It seemed to me that UCHIDA, Minister of Railways, had the same view regarding this matter. I then met the Chief Cabinet Secretary, and left the Premier's official residence.

I went to the Navy Ministry and met the Navy Minister after a long interval. Therefore I chatted with him on various matters. The Navy Minister was greatly concerned over the severe criticisms made by the naval reservists regarding the Emperor-Organ theory, and said: "I would like the Premier to make a statement."

I met the Minister of Justice at his official residence and listened to his various ideas, since he was leaving on a trip. The Justice Minister stated: "Fifteen or sixteen cases involving political racketeers have been turned over by the Metropolitan Police Office to the local court, and approximately 500 cases to the District Procuratorial Office, of which approximately 200 led to trials."

He further stated: "Instead of conducting wholesale arrests of political gangsters, we intend to make arrests whenever incidents break out." Regarding Dr. MINORE, the Justice Minister stated: "We cannot

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help but take legal action against Dr. MINORE."

On July 5th. when I met the Premier, he talked to me about TSUBOYAMA, a Director of the South Manchuria Railway, and left. I then met the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister stated: "On the 3th, the Russian Ambassador proposed a meeting of the Border Dispute Settlement Commission. We intend to discuss now the authorized limit of rights of this Commission. The problem in China will probably be settled in general."

I left for Shizuoka on the evening of the 5th. On the morning of the 7th, I accompanied Prince SAIONJI from Okitsu to Gotemba. On way, I reported to him current developments in general and returned. On the 8th. I met the Premier. I then went to the Foreign Office and reported on Prince SAIONJI's moving to Gotemba.

That evening, KOKURA invited professors of the Tokyo Imperial University Law Department to the Sumitomo villa, and I also attended at this gathering. On the 10th, I invited the Premier, the Chief Cabinet Secretary, and the private secretary to dinner. With KONOYE and MATSUOKA included, we dined at leisure.

The Governor-General of Korea arrived in Tokyo on the 5th. However, in comparison with the atmosphere of his last trip to Tokyo, the present situation is quite tranquil.

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Chapter 177
(22 July 1935)

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Translated by T/Sgt. Torry Seino

I met the Premier on the 11th and talked over the proposal of Baron IWAKURA "to assist Vice-President SAKONJI as much as possible, working without salary at the Oil Company of Karafuto." The Premier said: "I like to talk to the Navy Minister right away about it." There was no other important topic.

Then, on the morning of the 12th, I held the usual breakfast meeting, inviting both MORISHIMA and YAMAI, Chiefs of sections (MORISHIMA, Foreign Ministry, East Asia Bureau, First Section; YAMAI, Foreign Ministry, East Asia Bureau, Third Section), and talked over several topics involving North China and Manchukuo with the usual members of the House of Peers.

The same day I visited the private home of UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea, and had an interview. I asked him: "Is there any foundation for the rumor that a conciliatory attitude prevails between yourself and HIRANUMA?" He said: "Well, Vice-Admiral KOBAYASHI, who is stationed at Chinhae Bay (Korea), came and said that Baron HIRANUMA is a man who has no other thought than to serve the nation, and yet you are not friendly toward him. I think it would be wonderful for the nation if you and he would cooperate. Won't you try your best?" So I told him: "Of course, I understand very well that he is serving wholeheartedly for the nation; moreover he is my senior, out of my home prefecture; also I

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respect him because he already had held responsible positions when I was only a first lieutenant. However, look at his companions. I notice quite a few rough characters. Unless he meets me on the basis of completely severing relations with them and not mingling with them at all, I will never be able to work hand in hand with him.' He answered: 'No, I want you to look after him; in other words, I want to ask you to assist him in the future.'" That was the story Governor-General UGAKI told me.

Then I said to him: "It seems that everything is very favorable for you now, so I think that it is better for you to return to Korea soon as you finish your business here." Telling him "to take good care of himself," I departed.

Later, when I met the Premier, he said: "At the Cabinet meeting on the 12th, the Minister of Home Affairs reported the earthquake disaster in Shizuoka, and the Foreign Minister reported that the Russian Ambassador proposed to organize the investigation committee representing Japan, Manchukuo and Russia, which is to deal with disputes, on the principle of equal representation for Japan, Manchukuo and Russia, so there was not much of importance. However, although this is very confidential, I have a problem; the Finance Minister came over to me this morning and said: "So far, it has been generally understood to be the principle to let the Foreign Ministry handle foreign relations, and to have the military to back it up. This principle was followed during the SAITO Cabinet; espe-

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cially in respect to the budget, everyone was expected to economize as much as possible, but lately the military are so demanding that it seems that the Foreign Ministry is dragged along by them. While the Foreign Minister is endeavoring to conduct peaceful negotiations, militarists are poking their noses into matters at the scenes of action and are making the situation worse. It is especially outrageous for militarists to have a say regarding the Manchurian Railway Company. In consequence, the Manchurian Railway Company will lose prestige. HAYASHI, (President of the Manchurian Railway Company) said, in discussing several topics when he visited me recently: 'I cannot estimate the budget beyond the year after next.' This is primarily because the Manchurian Railway Company is compelled by the militarists to undertake projects which have no prospect of accomplishment and from which there will be no income.'

"Therefore, if figures come out in red ink, they will affect the credit of the nation. Again lately (it seems) the Manchurian Railway Company has to undergo expenditures in North China for the militarists; this is a troublesome affair. I am seriously considering retirement on account of age at this time." These were the things he told me, so I said: "The military Ministers seem to be trying to win a favorable attitude toward themselves within the Cabinet, so we will be able to bring them well under control; so will you please endure this situation and continue your post?" I said this and departed.

He also said that, at the present time, the War

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Minister is in a fix, being accused by both sides. Consequently this may lead to trouble in the Cabinet; in that event, if the Emperor says: "It is not necessary" the War Minister may be able to take resolute steps.

On 12th, I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "The Russian Ambassador proposed that we have the same number of committee-members for Japan and Manchukuo as for Russia, in other words 5 for Japan and Manchukuo and 5 for Russia alone. I don't know how this is going to be settled." I also talked with UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea; he has quite a knowledge of diplomacy, and we understood each other thoroughly. He was worried, saying: "There is a movement to oust the Minister of War."

When I met the Premier again he said: "It seems that HAYASHI, War Minister, is in trouble, being attacked by both sides, but ARAKI and MAZAKI are in the worst fix yet, and the militarists are maneuvering to interfere with the so-called peace-movement-toward-Russia policy of HIROTA, the Foreign Minister."

I went to see the Prince on the 13th; I related to him the highly confidential story of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's statement to the Premier, and told him of the worries that the War Minister might submit his resignation if conditions do not improve. The Prince said: "Previously I was told that if at all possible, the Genro and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal ought not to interfere, so I am living up to that and keeping mum." But upon hearing my story, the Prince told me, as "the Prince's private talk to HARADA", that he is very much worried over the situation of the mili-

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tarists; if necessary he will propose to the Emperor to have something said by him to the effect that: "It is not necessary" if the War Minister submits his resignation.

"At present", the Prince said, "it might be better for the Premier to handle the matter himself. No matter which way it may turn out, as I've told you before, I must try to serve my best as long as I live. I cannot keep mum in all cases." So I told him: "I will return and keep a close watch over the situation."

After I had returned, in the morning of the 14th, I visited the Premier and related the wish of the Prince. He said: "I don't think that the situation is so bad as to need the Prince. Incidentally, on the 13th, I was granted an audience; I explained the situation that the War Minister is in, and several other problems even the worst. I am to encourage the Minister of War and will support him wholeheartedly, so I want the Prince to watch for a while." The Premier said this very earnestly. He also said: "I explained the situation in general to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain."

There were rumors going around at the time I was to go to Gotemba. On the 10th, in connection with the August transfer of personnel, the War Minister is said to have told General MAZAKI: "I intend to transfer you from your present position to the Supreme Military Council."

MAZAKI asked: "Is this your personal preference as Minister of War, or is it that of the Prince, the Chief of the General Staff?" And finally he said:

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"I will never resign." Rumor had it that he also said:

"I will ask for an audience tomorrow", or: "I will go to the Emperor by myself"; other statements were:

"ARAKI will join MA~~ts~~AKI, covering him up, and will try not to let him resign"; and: "Today, when there are the problems of the Emperor-Organ theory and of the clarification of the national polity, there is no reason why we should resign." From those who went to an extreme, there was: "If MA~~ts~~AKI is transferred to the Supreme Military Council, there is no telling what will happen; it may be worse than the May 15th Incident."

These rumors were going around everywhere, for instance, when I met IKEDA, Seihin, of the financial circle, he talked of this as of an actual happening, and was greatly worried over it.

A general outline of these rumors was given to Prince SAIONJI on my visit on the 13th. On the 15th I asked the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau about this over the phone; also I asked INAGAKI, personal attendant of Prince KAN-IN and Lt. General NINOMIYA. NAGATA, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, said: "It must be done with bold resolute decision this time; but the War Minister is so influenced by others that he may hesitate in his decision; that is the only thing I am worried about. I want you to encourage the War Minister." INAGAKI spoke of the Prince's attitude thus: "Prince KAN-IN is very much determined, so everything will be all right."

Then again I said to the Premier: "The result of the three Chiefs' meeting (Chief of General Staff, Inspector General, War Minister), will entirely depend

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upon the decision of the War Minister; do you think it will be all right?" He said: "Yes, I will support him as much as possible."

On the morning of the 15th, the Premier called up the War Minister and said: "I want you to go ahead boldly and do this as Minister of War. It is out of the question to think of the life of the Cabinet, or of how many cabinets may dissolve because of your action; rather I want you, as far as possible, to do a clean-up job on the Army at the August transfer. In other words, the main objective is to remove MAIZAKI, who is the evil root of all this mess, so I want you to do it now."

On the morning of the 15th, INAGAKI came and told me the following: "I told the Prince, the Chief of the General Staff, that HARADA says that Prince SAIONJI is very much worried about this matter." The Prince said: 'I wonder if SAIONJI knows about the situation in the Army.' So I told him: 'Yes, he does.' The Prince answered: 'It will be fine, if he does.'"

On the evening of the 15th, I asked INAGAKI over the phone about the outcome of the three Chiefs' meeting. He said: "The War Minister went to Hayama to have an audience. MAIZAKI has never acknowledged his removal. Not only that but in the matter of the resignation of HATA, 2nd Division Commander, he steadfastly refuses to let him resign. He opposes all of War Minister's policy, therefore, after conferring with the Premier, the War Minister went to Hayama to receive the Imperial Sanction to appoint a new Inspector-General, appealing to the Imperial Throne for the

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Imperial Sanction." He told me: "His return will be about 9:00 or 10:00 P.M."

About 9:00 P.M. on the 15th, the War Minister returned. It seemed that he reported to Prince KAN-IN, for INAGAKI reported to me, saying: "Received the Imperial Sanction." When I met the Premier on the 16th, he said: "According to the story told to me, the War Minister reported the opinion of MAZAKI first; then as War Minister, he expressed his own opinion, saying: 'This is my side of the story.' The Emperor kept quiet while he was listening to MAZAKI's opinion, but when he expressed his own (Minister's) opinion, the Emperor nodded vigorously and granted approval. Then he returned and when he reported to Prince KAN-IN, he was very much pleased. Prince NASHIMOTO was also pleased and sent a messenger saying: 'It is very good', and praised the decision of the War Minister."

This became known to the public; about the 16th, the morning papers were filled with praise of the War Minister, for the transfer of the Inspector-General; General WATANABE, Jotaro replaced MAZAKI. The War Minister was very well satisfied, for his action was accepted publicly much more favorably than had been expected.

Later I heard from the Premier that the War Minister said: "I am very much impressed that my decision was so pleasing to the Emperor and the Imperial Family; I am firmly determined to carry further the betterment and development of the Army."

On the 17th I went to see Prince SAIONJI and reported the matter in detail. He gave me a message

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for Premier OKADA: "Results at this time must depend heavily on the Premier's determination. I am very much pleased, because it was not only favorable domestically, but, no doubt, it also raised the nation's prestige abroad." To the War Minister also, the Prince showed respect for his decision. His regards were sent through the Premier and myself.

There were rumors that because MAZAKI was made to resign, General ARAKI had committed harakiri, or that the followers will do something riotous, but the War Minister was so firmly determined that he seemed capable of meeting any situation with bold decision.

On the 18th, according to annual custom, Princes CHICHIBU and TAKAMATSU were invited to the private home of SUMITOMO, and we had dinner together with KONOYE and KIDO. Prince CHICHIBU said of the decision of the War Minister: "It was very good." Later, when I met naval officers and the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff, they were very much pleased, saying: "It will have a very good influence on the Navy." The fact that Inspector-General MAZAKI was transferred gave great relief to and made a favorable impression upon various circles; it was quite a notable incident of that time.

On the 19th I again went to see Prince SAIONJI and told him that Prince KONOYE would come to see him on the morning of the 22nd, and UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea, on the morning of the 23rd. Then I said: "Lately, the Army seems to move steadily toward normalcy, though there may be some sort of trouble at the time of the August transfer; on the whole the situation is quiet." Then I returned. Further, on

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this date there was a minor mix-up over the declaration of SUGIMURA, Ambassador to Italy on the Ethiopia problem but I said: "This will not cause any trouble." And I told of the decision reached by the Diet to levy a higher custom duty on Canadian goods in order to meet their tariff policy respecting Japanese goods.

I stayed overnight at Hakone and returned.